

## Message Text

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64

ACTION AF-08

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ONY-00 /009 W

----- 032485

R 271300Z JUL 76

FM AMEMBASSY CONAKRY

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2146

INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

AMEMBASSY BAMAKO

AMEMBASSY DAKAR

AMEMBASSY FREETOWN

AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 CONAKRY 1483

STADIS////////////////////////////////

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR PGOV EAID GV

SUBJ: GUINEA PL 480 TITLE I POLICY

REF: A CONAKRY 1296(NOTAL) B CONAKRY 1129(NOTAL)

C CONAKRY 1115(NOTAL) D CONAKRY 0915(NOTAL)

E STATE 146622(NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY. SINCE GOG LEADERSHIP HAS KEPT HOPING THAT US  
POLICY RE PL 480 AND SOVIET MILITARY DEPLOYMENTS WOULD SOME-  
HOW GO AWAY AND PERMIT THE PURCHASE OF MORE RICE, I TOOK  
OPPORTUNITY JULY 26 FOR DETAILED HISTORICAL REVIEW OF  
THIS ISSUE WITH MOUSSA DIAKITE, LEAVING GOG UNDER NO POSSIBLE  
ILLUSION AS TO OUR POSITION. THEY WANT TITLE I HELP BADLY  
FOR FY77 AND MAY STILL FACE UP TO SOVIETS ON THIS MATTER.  
END SUMMARY

2. MOUSSA DIAKITE CALLED ME IN JULY 26 TO OBTAIN "YES  
OR NO ANSWER" TO GOG REQUEST FOR ADDITIONAL 10,000 MT  
RICE UNDER FY76 PL480 TITLE I. HE SAID THIS RICE WAS  
ESSENTIAL AND GOG WOULD HAVE TO MAKE OTHER ARRANGEMENTS  
IF US "WITHDREW ITS COMMITMENT."

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EM GOG HAS NOT WANTED TO ACKNOWLEDGE OUR OFT-STATED POSITION ON THIS SUBJECT (REFTELS), I SUPPOSE FOR BOTH PSYCHOLOGICAL AND NEGOTIATING REASONS. SINCE SEVERAL WITNESSES WERE PRESENT AND TAKING NOTES (ECONOFF DLOUHY, SEKOU CAMARA AND MOUNTAGA KEITA OF STATE COMMITTEE, ALIMAG DIRGEN KOUROUMA), I REHEARSED IN DETAIL THE US/ GUINEA DIALOGUE ON SOVIET MILITARY DEPLOYMENT FROM CONAKRY.

4. I REMINDED DIAKITE THAT I HAD FIRST TOLD THE PRESIDENT MARCH 7 THAT USG HAD GREAT DIFFICULTY ACCEPTING GUINEA'S DECLARED POLICY OF NONALIGNMENT IN VIEW HEAVY VOLUME OF SOVIET WARSHIPS IN CONAKRY AND ESPECIALLY THE SYSTEMATIC DEPLOYMENT AGAINST NATO NAVAL TARGETS OF TU95D RECONNAISSANCE AIRCRAFT. I HAD RESTATED THIS POSITION TO DIAKITE HIMSELF ON APRIL 6.

5. ANTICIPATING A REAFFIRMATION OF TRUE GUINEAN NON-ALIGNMENT, IN VIEW GOG ASSURANCES, WE HAD PROCEEDED TO SIGN THE FY76 PL480 AGREEMENT ON APRIL 21. THIS AGREEMENT, I NOTED, WAS IN LINE WITH SIMILAR AGREEMENTS WHICH HAD PROVIDED NEARLY \$60 MILLION IN US FOOD AID TO GUINEA OVER THE PAST 15 YEARS. DURING THE SIGNING CEREMONY, I RECALLED, DIAKITE HAD FORCEFULLY REQUESTED ANOTHER 10,000 MT RICE, AND I HAD STILL AGAIN EXPLAINED AMERICAN CONCERN ABOUT GUINEAN FACILITATION OF MILITARY ACTIVITY DIRECTED AGAINST THE UNITED STATES.

6. MINISTER ALIOUNE Drame's DELEGATION VISITED WASHINGTON IN LATE APRIL AND PRESENTED A PERSUASIVE ECONOMIC CASE FOR ADDITIONAL RICE, I CONTINUED. HOWEVER, THE DELEGATION HAD RECEIVED NO PROMISES AND DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY SEELYE HAD REVIEWED OUR POSITION REGARDING NONALIGNMENT.

7. SUBSEQUENTLY, ON THE BASIS OF DEVELOPMENTS IN CONAKRY, THE EMBASSY HAD BEEN LED TO BELIEVE THAT GUINEA WAS RESPONDING AFFIRMATIVELY TO US STRATEGIC CONCERNS. I HAD THEREFORE RECOMMENDED IN EARLY MAY THAT AN ADDITIONAL 10,000 MT OF RICE BE ADDED TO THE FY 76 AGREEMENT. CONFIDENTIAL

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THIS AMOUNT WAS APPROVED BY THE INTERAGENCY STAFF COMMITTEE IN WASHINGTON AND PREPARATIONS WERE MADE TO AMEND THE FY76 AGREEMENT.

8. THEN, TO OUR SURPRISE, A FRESH DEPLOYMENT OF SOVIET AIRCRAFT HAD OCCURRED JUNE 3 CALLING INTO QUESTION MY EARLIER VIEW OF AN AFFIRMATIVE GUINEAN RESPONSE. AFTER DISCUSSING THE WHOLE MATTER ONCE AGAIN WITH PRESIDENT

TOURE ON JUNE 4, AND PRESENTING HIM WITH A DETAILED WRITTEN ACCOUNT OF TU95 DEPLOYMENTS, I HAD DEPARTED FOR CONSULTATION IN WASHINGTON. USG DECIDED TO HOLD APPROVAL OF THE 10,000 MT IN ABEYANCE UNTIL JUNE 30 TO ALLOW GOG MORE TIME TO DEMONSTRATE BY ACTION ITS NON-ALIGNMENT. WHEN SOVIET AIRCRAFT CONTINUED THEIR DEPLOYMENTS FROM CONAKRY OVER THE US ATLANTIC FLEET DESPITE ORAL ASSURANCES FROM PRESIDENT TOURE, PRIMIN BEAVOGUI AND DIAKITE, I HAD BEEN FORCED TO RECOMMEND THAT CONSIDERATION OF THE SUPPLEMENTARY ALLOCATION BE TERMINATED AS OF JUNE 30, AND IT WAS.

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ACTION AF-08

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ONY-00 /009 W  
----- 042710

R 271300Z JUL 76  
FM AMEMBASSY CONAKRY  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2147  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY BAMAKO  
AMEMBASSY DAKAR  
AMEMBASSY FREETOWN  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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9. I TOLD DIAKITE USG TOOK NO PLEASURE IN REFUSING A REQUEST FOR NEEDED RICE. HOWEVER, SINCE FIVE MONTHS HAD ELAPSED SINCE MY ORIGINAL DISCUSSION WITH THE PRESIDENT, WE WERE FORCED TO CONCLUDE THAT GUINEA WAS NOT INTERESTED IN US NATIONAL CONCERNS. NOW THE TU95S HAD AGAIN DEPLOYED FROM CONAKRY, FROM JULY 6 TO 22, CLEARLY TO RECONNOITER A US TASK FORCE MOVEMENT. THE US GOVERNMENT COULD NOT COMPARTMENTALIZE THE VARIOUS ELEMENTS OF US/GOG BILATERAL RELATIONS.

10. DIAKITE WARNED THAT THIS NEGATIVE US POSITION COULD

JEOPARDIZE US-GOG RELATIONS. ONCE THE LINK WAS MADE BETWEEN RICE AND PLANES, THE WHOLE PROGRAM OF COOPERATION COULD BECOME CONDITIONED ON VARIOUS DEMANDS. WHAT CONDITIONS WOULD BE PLACED ON FUTURE AID? GUINEA WAS A SOVEREIGN NATION AND WOULD DIE HUNGRY BEFORE YIELDING TO FOREIGN THREATS. THE ANSWER, HE CONTINUED, WAS NOT "UNILATERALLY" TO REJECT A REQUEST FOR ASSISTANCE, BUT TO CONSIDER WAYS IN WHICH THE PROBLEM COULD BE RESOLVED. DIAKITE REPEATED THE NOW FAMILIAR REFRAIN OF GUINEAN NONALIGNMENT AND NO-FOREIGN-BASES POLICY. THE SOVIET AIRCRAFT WERE INVOLVED IN THE ANGOLAN EFFORT, BUT  
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GUINEA HAD NO CONTROL OVER FINAL DESTINATIONS. ONCE A PLANE DEPARTED CONAKRY THERE WAS NOTHING TO STOP IT FROM TAKING ADVANTAGE OF GUINEA'S INABILITY TO MONITOR ITS FLIGHT.

11. I ASSURED DIAKITE THAT THE TU 95S WERE SPECIALIZED ELECTRONIC ESPIONAGE PLANES WHICH HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH ANGOLA. I REFERRED TO THE MEMORANDUM I HAD GIVEN PRESIDENT TOURE ON JUNE 4. THE SYSTEMATIC DEPLOYMENT OF THESE PLANES BEGAN IN JULY 1973 LONG BEFORE ANGOLA.

12. DIAKITE ANSWERED THAT GOG WAS STUDYING THIS MEMO BUT THAT IT NEEDED TIME. HE SAID GUINEA WAS NOT DEAF AND HAD TAKEN NOTE OF US CONCERNS. IN MEANTIME, COOPERATION SHOULD CONTINUE PENDING RESOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM AND SHOULD NOT BE CONDITIONED ON POLICY DEMANDS BETWEEN SOVEREIGN NATIONS.

13. I POINTED OUT THAT IF SOVEREIGNTY WAS AT STAKE THE US WAS THE AGGRIEVED PARTY IN VIEW OF THE CONTINUED TRANSGRESSIONS AGAINST THE US BY PLANES UTILIZING GUINEAN TERRITORY. WE WERE UNFORTUNATELY OBLIGED TO QUESTION GUINEAN NONALIGNMENT AND TO ACT ACCORDINGLY. FOLLOWING PRESIDENT TOURE'S OWN MAXIM, WE BASED OUR CONCLUSIONS QUOTE NOT ON WORDS BUT ON ACTS, NOTHING BUT ACTS UNQUOTE. I COULD NOT RECOMMEND AN INCREASE IN THE FY 76 RICE ALLOTMENT AND IT WAS NOW TOO LATE TO DO SO ANYWAY. WE WOULD THEREFORE CONSIDER THE PROBLEM OF BONA FIDE NONALIGNMENT AND OF GUINEA'S FOOD NEEDS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE GOG REQUEST FOR A FY 77 TITLE I PROGRAM.

14. COMMENT. I SEE NO WAY TO COMMUNICATE MORE CLEARLY TO GOG THAT FACILITATION OF SOVIET MILITARY DEPLOYMENT AGAINST US INTERESTS MUST AFFECT OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS. GUINEA WILL FACE DIFFICULT URBAN FOOD SHORTAGES IN ABOUT

APRIL 1977 UNLESS GOG ALLOCATES PRECIOUS EXCHANGE TO  
COMMERCIAL PURCHASES. (THERE IS NO REPEAT NO HOPE FOR  
SUCCESS OF THE PERSISTENTLY WRONGHEADED, COLLECTIVIST  
FARM POLICY.)  
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QTM GOG MANEUVERABILITY WITH SOVIETS IS RESTRICTED BY  
REGIME'S DEPENDENCE UPON RUSSIAN MILITARY SUPPORT. HOW-  
EVER, TOURE HAS APPARENTLY NOT TAKEN OUR DEMARCHE  
SERIOUSLY TO DATE, AND HAS PROBABLY NOT RAISED THE  
MATTER WITH USSR. PERHAPS GOG ONLY NOW RECOGNIZES THAT  
WE MEAN BUSINESS, AND THE TEST OF PL480 POLITICAL  
LEVERAGE IS STILL TO COME.

16. WHILE GOG MIGHT TRY TO PIN BLAME FOR FOOD SHORTAGES  
ON US, THIS WOULD NOT BE VERY CONVINCING. GUINEAN  
PUBLIC IS TOUCHINGLY GRATEFUL FOR CURRENT PL480  
DELIVERIES, WHICH ARE CLEARLY ASSOCIATED WITH US  
DESPITE GOG REFUSAL OF PUBLICITY. I AM SATISFIED  
THAT OUR BLUNT DIALOGUE WITH GOG HAS HAD A HEALTHY  
IMPACT. GUINEAN LEADERSHIP MUST NOW WORRY ABOUT  
THE IMPLICATIONS OF CONTINUED STRATEGIC CONNIVANCE  
WITH THE SOVIETS UPON FY 77 FOOD REQUIREMENTS.  
HARROP

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## Message Attributes

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